

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1878.

## The Week.

ALL that has come to light during the week confirms our impression that the Democratic investigation really originated not in any demand on the part of the rank and file of the party but in the inner circles of the management, and was and is intended to be not a "revolutionary" but an electioneering enterprise. In fact, the Republican cry that it was an attack on Hayes's title, combined with the blind way in which the mass of the Democratic members went into the scheme, seems last week to have frightened or disgusted so many, and the expectation of any result was so small, that by Friday, according to Mr. Nordhoff, the majority would have been glad to creep out of the undertaking. The testimony taken on Saturday, however, showed that the chiefs understood their game and had kept their secret very well, and do really believe that they have secured the means of "ruining the Republicans in public esteem and making their contest this fall and in 1880 hopeless." Much of the Republican talk that the enquiry "leads logically" to "revolution" is too naïve to be sincere. It "leads logically" to a huge and probably telling campaign document, like the Republican enquiry into the frauds in this State in 1868. The Democrats are, at this writing, so elated with their success that we have heard within a day or two of a prediction by one of the chiefs that within a month Mr. Hayes will have vacated the White House, not under physical duress, but before the weight of moral reprobation which is to be excited by the forthcoming disclosures. This is a pretty and picturesque view.

The success achieved thus far consists in the testimony of Anderson, the late Supervisor of Registration in the parish of East Feliciana in Louisiana. It shows first and foremost that he is a perjured scoundrel, who is now contradicting himself in a variety of important matters. The election found him a clerk in the New Orleans Custom-house of disreputable character and antecedents, and he was detailed to supervise registration in one of the "bulldozed" parishes. His present performances have at last elicited from the *New York Times* the confession, which it is a disgrace to the Republican press not to have made long ago, that

"He may be set down as one of the worst specimens of scoundrels whom Louisiana partisanship has produced, and every decent Republican in the land will blush for the party management that made such a creature its instrument in any service whatever. He was a Republican appointee in the New Orleans Custom-house, a Supervisor in the Republican interest in East Feliciana, and generally in close fellowship with the Republican leaders and office-holders of Louisiana. But the fact will remain that this consummate rascal was once an active participator in Republican affairs, holding confidential communications with prominent members of the party, and sustained by them in applications for the reward of confessed dishonesty. He has sold himself to the Democracy simply because the Administration refused to pay the price he attempted to exact. This alone would render his unsupported evidence valueless; but it also increases the disgust which Republican affiliation with the man at any time must excite. He is unchanged. Bad now, he was equally bad then. And we look on him with shame as having been one of the minor manipulators of the Republican machine in Louisiana at a critical stage of the country's history."

This is true and good, but, "esteemed contemporary," why did you not say it a year and a half ago, when this gang of reprobates was beginning to drag the government of a great nation through the mire? You knew it then as well as now, or had good reason to suspect it, but you went on whitewashing these villains and representing them to simple-minded Republicans at the North as philanthropic martyrs, and you ought to "blush" yourself at least two shades deeper than the common run of "decent Republicans."

Anderson's story is, in substance, that his official protests against the returns in East Feliciana, on account of Democratic intimidation, were forged by arrangement or conspiracy, and had no foundation in fact; that he had an interview in New Orleans with Mr. John Sherman and Mr. Stanley Matthews, who urged him to stick to his fraud, and that he and a fellow-conspirator, Weber, afterwards drew a letter from Mr. Sherman, telling him that neither Mr. Hayes nor himself would "ever forget the obligations under which he had placed them should they (Anderson and Weber) stand firm in the position they had taken," and guaranteeing on behalf of Mr. Hayes that "he would be provided for" after the 4th of March. The original of this letter has not been produced, and Mr. Sherman, on being confronted with the copy, said that "he believed he never wrote such a letter"; that "he had no recollection of ever writing it"; that "if it was written it must have been about" a certain date; that "at the same time there are things in the letter that he would have written," etc. This qualified denial has taken the public by surprise and produced a bad impression, owing to the fact that some days ago Mr. Sherman challenged investigation, and alleged flatly that no such letter was in existence, and that any letter of the kind ascribed to him was a forgery. He might perfectly well have refused to make any statement before the Committee about a copy, and have asked for the original. It must, too, be remembered in judging him that he is a very cautious man, and has long trained himself to get out of difficult positions by "straddling," so that his apparent evasiveness is not incompatible with the truthfulness of a flat denial that he ever wrote such a letter. It must also be said, on the other hand, that in interpreting the letter the construction to be put on obscure phrases, such as "standing firm in the position you have taken," depends a good deal on the character of the person to whom a letter is addressed. If one found such a phrase in a letter addressed to Dr. Adams or Bishop Potter, there would be no doubt that "the position" alluded to was a respectable one; but if one found it in a letter addressed to "Dublin Tricks" or "Australian Kelly," one would find it hard to believe that what was required of him was persistent fruitfulness in good works. It is right to add that Mr. Sherman seems to have taken no pains to conciliate Anderson since the election.

Mr. Stanley Matthews, it must be confessed, the Democrats have fairly hooked and landed. He has been convicted, on the testimony of his own letters, of having kept up a protracted and conciliatory correspondence with this man Anderson, of having worked hard to get him appointments, and part of this while in possession of a fraudulent written agreement entered into by Anderson with Nash, the Congressman of the district, to "suppress evidence," so as to give the district to the Republicans in return for an office in the New Orleans Custom-house, and of having replied from the United States Senate Chamber with almost abject submissiveness to the abuse and insults and threats of this paltry scoundrel. This correspondence every respectable American of both parties will read with pain, for it means the fall of a man whom, though everybody knew him to be a somewhat foolish politician and a ridiculous financier, all supposed to be a gentleman and a man of honor.

The President does not seem to be touched by any of the revelations. He appears to have recommended Anderson for a consulship "in a warm climate," believing that he had suffered by the discharge of his duty in Louisiana, but to have refused to have any intercourse with him on becoming better acquainted with his character. But there were fatal objections from the beginning, which he ought to have perceived, to quartering these Southern politicians on the public service. Mr. Hayes must have been very guileless or very unobservant not to have known or suspected that nobody who during the last ten years had come to the surface in Louisiana poli-

ties was likely to be above reproach, or to be capable of appointment to office at the hands of a civil-service reformer without giving scandal. The other "visiting statesmen" who got offices—Messrs. Noyes and Stoughton—are, it seems, coming home to testify. The connection of Judge Harlan, of the Supreme Court, with Anderson through Mr. Stanley Matthews is also a very unpleasant feature in the affair.

The persons who believe in the "logical" approach of "revolution" are still making no preparations for it beyond warning other people (in the newspapers) to get ready for it. Now, one act of substantial anticipation would be worth two months' preaching. Let some alarmist step forward and say: "I have done this or that with my property; I have fortified my house, or I have removed my family to Canada, or I feel sad about my country in the evenings and do not sleep and have no appetite," and it will be worth any amount of "beating the long roll" in editorial articles. We have to repeat our conviction to business men that it is all an electioneering dodge, and that the notion that Tilden will ever appear as a *pronunciador* is ludicrous. A crown would not tempt him as the result of an émeute, while \$1,000 as the result of shrewd management and secret intrigue would tickle him greatly. In any event, we have to repeat our prediction that it is Gail Hamilton, and not the Great Silent Man, who will command on the Republican side. If the responsibility is fairly put upon her and she is supplied with adequate means, we warrant within three months there will not be a discontented Democrat in the country outside caves and hollow trunks of trees. If she is interfered with, of course we may have failure and disaster even under her, but she will not be interfered with; our people have learnt wisdom in military matters by bitter experience.

The two Houses of Congress have agreed on June 17 as the date of final adjournment. The Senate has passed the Legislative Appropriation Bill, and the bill to provide for an additional judge for the Seventh Circuit (Indiana and Illinois). On Monday Mr. Hamlin endeavored to carry his measure to restore the franking privilege, but was unsuccessful, the vote being a tie. Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution calling for the correspondence between our Government and that of Great Britain "in regard to inviting other maritime powers to accede to the three rules prescribing the duty of neutral governments, as set forth in the sixth article of the Treaty of Washington." On Tuesday there was an animated discussion over the Brazilian subsidy, against which very effective speeches were made by Senators Kernan, of New York, and Whyte, of Maryland, the one representing a State for whose support the bill makes a bid; the other, a State whose chief commercial city will be greatly injured by the success of the bill. The House passed on Tuesday a bill to reorganize the coast life-saving service, and gratified Mr. Wood by going into Committee of the Whole on his Tariff bill, but only for the space of two hours for general debate. The Committee refused to rise at the end of that time, being evidently bent on killing the bill then and there. They were only prevented by Mr. Wood's procuring the reading of the bill in detail, and finally agreed to take on Wednesday a test-vote on the question of striking out the enacting clause.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has made an excellent report on the Fisheries Award, in which, while pronouncing the award exorbitant, and possibly *ultra vires*, they do not recommend a refusal to pay it if the British Government, after hearing our representations on the subject, should "conclude and declare that it was lawfully and honorably due"; but express the hope that the interest of Great Britain in the success of the principle of arbitration may lead her to see that no settlement of a dispute can be considered satisfactory which is not based on "mutual content"—a very just observation which we trust will be borne in mind in disposing of the Geneva Award surplus. After going once more into the figures of the award by way of showing its excessiveness, the Committee recommend that the utmost care be taken to disabuse the minds of

the Canadian and British Governments and people of the notion that the United States will ever accept the award as a just measure of the value of the inshore fisheries in Canadian waters, and report a concurrent resolution authorizing the President to pay the award if, after correspondence with the British Government, he shall deem that such payment is demanded by the honor and good faith of the nation. The Senate adopted this report on Saturday, with an amendment offered by Mr. Edmunds, to the effect that in the judgment of Congress Articles 18 and 21 of the Washington Treaty ought to be terminated at the earliest day consistent with Article 33.

The President, we regret to say, has signed without a word of protest the bill which partially repeals the Resumption Act, and commits the Government to the issue of legal-tender paper in time of peace by directing the reissue of the redeemed greenbacks by the Treasury. This comes in unpleasant coincidence with the reports from Washington that the machine-men make no further complaints of him as regards appointments, and that the prospects of "harmony in the party" grow brighter and brighter. The *Commercial Bulletin* of this city has, however, pointed out that it will probably not be in the power of the Secretary to obey the law, inasmuch as all demands on the Government are already provided for by the taxes, so that the greenbacks received for gold would have to lie where the gold lay, unless the revenues fell short of the expenditures and the deficit was not otherwise provided for. In the meantime we trust steps will be at once taken, if any of these redeemed greenbacks are reissued, to test before the Supreme Court the power of Congress, in times of profound peace, to make the volume of the currency an issue in every election. The question cannot be decided too soon.

The Iowa State Democratic Convention met on Wednesday of last week, but neither the work before it—the nomination of minor State officers whom the party has no chance of electing—nor the improved prospects of the party at large seemed to excite much enthusiasm. The platform is brief. On the question of Communism it says truly that "labor and capital have an equal demand upon and equal responsibility before the law." Its views on the currency do not differ from the usual party shibboleth. As regards the Electoral frauds investigation it urges that the truth should be vindicated, "and criminals punished in accordance with the law wherever found." The Alabama Democratic Convention, meeting on the same day, filled its platform with praise of the party and denunciation of the Republicans, avoiding any declaration of sentiment concerning the prominent measures and problems of the day. For the blacks it had this admonition: "While we renew the pledges of protection to all the colored people, we recognize and hold essential that, without abridging the rights of any class, these great results have been achieved and can alone be maintained by the union of the great governing race—the white people of the land." It closed with a declaration of the party's intention "to preserve inviolate its obligations to the people and to the bona-fide creditors of the State."

The importers of this city, representing a capital of \$30,000,000, and paying from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 annually in duties, have sent in an elaborate memorial to the Treasury, which, after making every allowance for exaggeration, constitutes a very formidable indictment of the whole system of *ad-valorem* duties. They say in substance that they are treated by the Custom-house officers as presumptively fraudulent in their designs, and that the local appraisers are stimulated in their hostility to them both by Treasury agents and by the home manufacturers, who look on the tariff not so much as a means of raising revenue as of repressing what they consider the nefarious practice of introducing foreign goods into this country; that the appraisers, therefore, make no allowance for purchases made under peculiarly advantageous circumstances, or with unusual sagacity, or on a large scale, and treat everybody who puts his goods down lower than the highest prices paid by anybody as a probable



knave. Some of their requests sound like the petitions which Greek merchants used to present to the Grand Turk in the old days, before the Tanzimat, such as that in test cases raised to settle values for the whole trade they may be allowed to be represented by counsel, and cross-examine witnesses, and offer explanations to enable them to protect themselves against the Treasury agents, who now attend all such investigations and act virtually as the attorney of the home manufacturer; and that the subordinate officers may be forbidden, whenever they discover evidence against one merchant, from "attacking all merchants in that particular line of trade."

The women who are most prominent in the agitation of the "Woman Question" in this city called an indignation meeting to protest against Judge Hilton's conduct in the matter of the Woman's Hotel, on Tuesday last, in the great hall of the Cooper Union, and the response must have surprised and delighted them. They never had such an audience in their lives before, and probably never will again. The room was packed. The majority were women, eager to stamp with execration Hilton's unhallowed suggestion that his hotel was left empty because he put too much restriction on the social intercourse of the sexes; but there was a large body of men, who had evidently come to enjoy the fun of hearing female orators pour vituperation on a man, and the hotter and stronger it was the more they cheered and laughed. When Matilda Fletcher, in black velvet and Valenciennes lace, warned the dry-goods tyrant that this country was no monarchy, and that if it were he could never be king of it, there were thunders of applause. The speeches were mostly "bits" and jokes, and the proceedings closed with elocutionary recitations. For those who look forward to women taking a serious part in the political business of the country the spectacle was on the whole a painful one, and as a protest against Hilton's real offence it was worthless. His failure to execute the Stewart trust is unquestioned, and it ought to receive grave criticism. It was worse than absurd to provide a luxurious hotel for "working-women," and to fix the price so high that few or none of the class could pay it, and to surround the enjoyment of the benefaction with vexatious restrictions. But none of these things seems to have brought so much wrath on him as the insinuation that his hotel failed because it was not a good place to find a husband in. It were better for him now that he had never been born, or that, instead of being a dry-goods prince, he were wandering, unencumbered with either woollens, or cottons, or linens, in some tropical forest.

The Syndicate on the last day of May took from the Treasury the remaining \$15,000,000 of United States 4½ per cent. bonds necessary to complete the \$50,000,000 bargained for on the 11th day of April. This ensures the Treasury \$50,000,000 of gold for resumption purposes in addition to the amounts to be derived from other sources and the amount already secured. The coin-balance of the Treasury at the close of May was nearly \$190,000,000 gross, against about \$108,000,000 at the close of May, 1877. On the unfavorable side of the resumption account, however, is the fact that the Senate before the close of May passed the House bill to prevent further contraction of the legal-tender-note circulation, and the President, forgetful of his pledges in regard to the Resumption Act, signed the bill, so that it becomes a law before the reduction for May, which could only take effect at the end of the month, could be secured. This bill, therefore, leaves the legal-tender-note circulation where it stood at the end of April—at \$346,681,016—and it fixes this as the minimum amount of these notes. Of course this bill repeals a part of the Resumption Act, just as the Silver Bill defeats the kind of specie payments contemplated by that Act. Silver in London has ruled at 53½d. to 53¾d. per ounce, and at the close of the week the bullion value of the new silver dollar was \$0.9010 gold. The gold value of a United States legal note for one dollar at the close of the week was \$0.9925 gold. Investment securities were in strong demand during the week, notably railroad investments.

A formal official announcement that the Congress will meet has at length been made, and the invitation has been issued. It proposes to the Powers who were signatories of the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 "to meet in Congress at Berlin, to discuss there the stipulations of the preliminary treaty of San Stefano concluded between Russia and Turkey," and assumes that in accepting it each Power consents to admit the free discussion of the whole of the contents of the Treaty of San Stefano. On this basis England and all the other Powers have accepted; but it is difficult to see in this what the concessions are on either side which have made the Congress possible, and if they exist, they are probably concealed in a private understanding to be produced at the Congress. Russia agreed from the first to a discussion of the whole Treaty, but reserved to herself the right of deciding how much of the results of the discussion she would accept. This right she apparently reserves still, for no Power engages to accept the decision of the Congress as binding, nor does any Power pledge itself to go to war to enforce it. In fact, the Congress, as far as appears on the surface, is to be an occasion for an interchange of views and an opportunity for coming to terms, but is not to be a tribunal before which Russia is to appear as an "orator" in equity. When the talk is over, each Power will have that liberty of action which Prince Gortchakoff demanded in the beginning—that is, the liberty of fighting if it is not willing to concede what the others demand. If some preliminary arrangement between Russia and England does not reveal itself at the Congress there has been much negotiation about nothing. Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury are both to represent England.

Another characteristic scandal has overtaken the English Ministry in the appointment of Colonel Wellesley, a young officer of the Guards, to a diplomatic position at Vienna over the heads of ninety civil members of the regular service. He was military commissioner at the Russian headquarters during the war, and while there the freedom of his criticisms on the Russian staff led to a quarrel with the Grand Duke Nicholas, which was afterwards patched up, but this is all that was remarkable in his career. The defence of the appointment by the Ministry was simply that his close knowledge of the recent course of events rendered him very valuable just at this juncture; but this is too flimsy to bear examination, and it is freely acknowledged in London, even by the friends of the Government, that the appointment is a case of "connection" and Court influence—or, in other words, "a job"—and, at the same time, a slap at the Liberal civil-service system.

The second, and nearly successful, attempt to assassinate the Emperor of Germany, which has caused such a deep sensation in Europe, will probably precipitate some very violent repressive legislation against Socialism, that will convert open agitation into secret plotting. But it will also, like the Paris Commune, spread a good deal of uneasiness through the whole of Germany. The fear that many of those among whom one lives have thrown aside all restraints of religion and custom, and care nothing for legal penalties, and are seized with a kind of madness, is horrible, and this is the fear that Socialism inspires. The uselessness of killing an old emperor, like the uselessness of burning Paris, does not trouble these maniacs; what they seek is to startle the busy and happy and civilized, and make them heed them. The Berlin correspondent of the *London Times*, who is an exceptionally careful observer, maintains that the appearance of the Red Spectre in Germany is due to Bismarck's folly in starting universal suffrage in a country wholly unprepared for it by education or traditions, in order to set off the working-classes against the middle-class Liberals, who had opposed him so vexatiously prior to 1866. If this be true, he has probably raised the devil and will not see him laid in his time. The Emperor appears to have had a wonderful escape, having received a charge of small shot or slugs at close range. The perpetrator is a Ph.D., and apparently a desperate adventurer. He has attempted to commit suicide and is reported dying.

## DEVELOPMENT BY SUBSIDIES.

IN their public-land policy the people of the United States have usually acted upon the idea that it was incumbent on them to "develop" all the unsettled country between the two oceans during the period of a single generation. The fertile acres, rich mines, and teeming forests of the West were sufficiently tempting to private cupidity, and might have been safely left to individual and corporate enterprise without other stimulus. The pressure of population in the Old World was sure to bring immigrants in large numbers and capital in increasing volume to so inviting a territory. But the ordinary processes of development were too slow. At first the public lands were offered at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre—a very moderate figure considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the abundance of water-ways, and the advantages which a settled government and almost entire freedom from taxation afforded. The plan of giving away lands to private corporations did not lay hold of the public mind suddenly. It was preceded by a system of limited donations to the new States to aid in the construction of canals and for the establishment of schools and universities. Next came the system of bounty-warrants to soldiers, resulting in an immense land speculation at the close of the war with Mexico. Only an insignificant part of the public domain, however, could be got rid of in this way. The era of railway construction by donations of land came next. It commenced about the year 1850, and was confined at first to sections or tracts which had been for a long period surveyed and in vain offered for sale at the minimum price fixed by law. Such lands, it was argued, could never be sold at any price without means of communication, and the Government could be made whole by giving one-half of the lands to railroad companies and charging double price for the remainder. The scheme was so far successful that the lands were got rid of. The railroad companies went forward with such eagerness that they generally attained bankruptcy before the adjacent country was settled. The alternate sections were bought largely by speculators who eventually reached the same goal.

These untoward results did not disturb the minds of the "developers." On the contrary, the rule which had been first applied to lands that had been in the market and remained unsold for twenty years or more was extended to all public lands whatsoever, surveyed and unsurveyed. Any company brave enough to undertake a railroad anywhere could have as much land as it wanted. Then the Homestead Act was passed, giving a farm to any settler, upon condition of occupancy and improvement. Even this was not enough to satisfy the rage for development. Sundry millions of acres were voted in a lump to establish agricultural colleges in all the States, and the scrip representing this land was vigorously hawked and advertised, while agents of immigration spread themselves all over Western Europe and Eastern America. The mad race was checked by the panic of 1873, which will be for ever associated with the attempt of the Northern Pacific Company to turn some forty-seven million acres of unexplored and unknown territory into cash fast enough to keep down the interest on some twenty-seven millions of bonds. The failure of this huge enterprise turned the thoughts of enterprising men like Col. Thos. A. Scott toward the national Treasury as a means of still further converting lands into legal tender. The Northern Pacific fell with so violent a crash, its chief promoters were so paralyzed, and the whole scheme so exposed to derision, from the business man's point of view, that an appeal to Congress for aid in the way of subsidy to it had no chance of success. The Texas Pacific had not dragged its thousands of investing clergymen, deacons, and country school-teachers to ruin. Its 7.30s had not become a butt of ridicule alike to Wall Street and the rural cross-roads. It might, therefore, appeal once more to the public passion for compelling all unoccupied lands to be settled immediately; and, since the ordinary courses of settlement had been interrupted and immigration practically stopped, a money subsidy in addition to an existing land subsidy might possibly be obtained. Congress is expected to pass upon this question during the few re-

maining days of the present session, notice of intention to call it up having been given in both houses, and Senator Lamar, of Mississippi, having invoked the wandering attention of the country to it by a speech of considerable length and ingenuity.

The salient features of this scheme, and the obvious mischiefs which it drags in its train, both political and economical, have been frequently set forth in these columns. We propose to address ourselves now to the supposed need of opening up new lands to cultivation and settlement by artificial means and governmental assistance. If it be a desirable thing that all the remaining territory of the United States available for tillage and pasturage should be speedily occupied, it can be shown that the conditions favorable to such a result are now in full play, and that not a dollar of public money or a guaranteed bond is needed to stimulate the movement of population toward the unsettled regions of the West and Southwest. It is a marked feature of all our financial crises that after a period of stupefaction, despondency, and stagnation, more or less protracted, the men of small savings and good habits, who have been living on diminishing wages, and have seen the avenues of employment narrowing around them in the towns and cities, begin to contemplate agriculture as a resource capable of furnishing a home and the means of independent livelihood under all circumstances. A movement to the unoccupied portions of the public domain then sets in. The displaced artisans and mechanics either buy out small farmers in their own neighborhood, who are thus pushed westward to new lands, or migrate themselves to the most fertile and accessible districts of which they can obtain any knowledge. This was the distinctive course of social and industrial development shortly after the panic of 1837. The same symptoms had begun to show themselves after that of 1857, until the outbreak of the war turned the public energies into a new channel. The same movement has commenced again in full force; and Texas, having the largest amount of new land of all the frontier States, has derived the greatest advantage from it. There are no statistics available to show the extent of the westward migration from year to year, but all accounts represent that it is heavy, continuous, and of extremely good character at the present time, extending from Dakota on the north to Texas on the south. The land sales of railway companies having land grants to dispose of have been large and remunerative, and the only portions of the country that can be called really prosperous are those which Congress is urged to "develop" by subsidies—that is, by taxing the less prosperous portions.

Is there any need, however, of peopling all the unoccupied domain, and ploughing all the unsubdued acres, during the lifetime of this generation? We know that population will increase, and that new lands will be brought under cultivation according to certain economic laws, as long as there are any new lands to be cultivated. We know, too, that our own public domain is not an unlimited quantity; that after Texas and the belt between the base of the Rocky Mountains and the present limits of settlement in Kansas and Nebraska (which may be roughly fixed at two hundred and fifty miles beyond the Missouri River) are filled up, there will be nothing left for migrating populations except the thinly-tenanted South. For when Texas is once fairly filled, Virginia will have some chance of development by means of a thrifty immigration. Our purpose, however, is not to show what will happen after the unoccupied area is settled, but to point out that the process is going on with sufficient rapidity, that its full consummation is not far distant, and that especially it does not need the stimulus of appropriations from the public Treasury to urge it into greater activity. Little enough room has been left for the next generation to expand in. If we cannot rightfully set bounds to the roving, peopling, and subduing tendencies of the Anglo-American, we may be sure, when we look back one hundred years and when we look forward twenty, that the last thing needed to bring Texas under fence and plough is a guarantee of railroad bonds by the Government of the United States.

Senator Lamar looks upon Colonel Scott's railroad enterprise rather as a means of developing the South generally than of Texas



in particular. The South, he says, has cotton in practically unlimited quantity, and water-power in like abundance. What she needs to become a great cloth-manufacturing country is a railroad to the Pacific coast, furnishing a short route to China, Japan, and the west coast of South America. Statistics showing the amount of cotton goods manufactured in the South and sold to countries accessible without any Pacific Railroad—the West Indies, Central America, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, etc.—implying a surplus not to be disposed of in the ordinary way, would have made Mr. Lamar's argument more telling. Information touching the quantity of cotton goods shipped from New England, where there really is a surplus, *via* the existing Pacific Railroad, to China, Japan, and the west coast of South America, would have been even more satisfactory. The South has, indeed, some marked advantages for the production of cotton cloth, and the growth of her manufacturing industry since the close of the war excites the commendation and good wishes of the North and East; but to tell us that a railway of two thousand miles or more through an uninhabited and largely uninhabitable cactus desert, to carry such a bulky article as cotton-cloth for transshipment by steamer to still more distant lands, is the special desideratum of the spinning industry—that the want of such a railway is a drawback and incubus upon the growth of that industry at the present time—is something we had not expected from so independent and grave a Senator. We take leave to pronounce it sorry stuff, and to hold it in even less respect than the argument based upon the need of rapidly colonizing and settling the few scraps of valuable public domain not yet occupied.

#### VOLTAIRE IN POLITICS.

THE application of Bishop Dupanloup to the French Ministers in the Senate, the other day, to prohibit the proposed public celebration at Paris of the one hundredth anniversary of Voltaire's death, coupled with the formation of a committee containing some of the best-known names in French aristocratic and religious society to raise funds for the purpose of exposing the philosopher (*le faire connaître tel qu'il est*), is a striking illustration of the power his name still preserves in his own country. But it is a more striking illustration still of the way in which the Catholic Church adapts its action in all matters relating to politics to the latitude in which it is working. In no other country in Europe would so considerable a man, and on the whole so sensible a politician, as Bishop Dupanloup have asked the Government to prevent the admirers of a great writer from dining and perorating in honor of his memory; and the reason is that in no other country would he come so near being listened to as in the very one in which Voltaire made his mark on political and religious thought. That the bishop should have seen nothing absurd in the application is easily understood when one reads the controversy which has just been raging between Prince Napoleon and General Türr on the one side and the Duc de Gramont on the other, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and in the daily press, touching the reason why Italy took no part in the war of 1870 on the side of France. It appears to be clearly proved by the prince and the general that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with special reference to Germany, had been all but concluded between France, Italy, and Austria when the war broke out, and that the sole or main reason why the negotiations failed and France was left to act alone was the refusal of the Imperial Government to yield the evacuation of Rome and the overthrow of the temporal power, which Italy, with the support even of Austria, insisted on as the price of her aid. It was not, of course, the clerical influence exclusively which brought France to grief—the amazing ignorance and *insouciance* of the military men of the Empire had much to do with it—but this influence was mainly instrumental in depriving her of allies which would almost certainly have overpowered Germany, and probably made the map of Europe something very different from what it is, and have left France in the enjoyment of unprecedented influence and authority.

The effect of the catastrophe is heightened by the fact, to which

good Catholics are loudest in calling our attention, that the loss of the temporal power has not diminished by one iota the power of the Church over the consciences of her worshippers. If France had saved religion, and prevented a break in the line of Apostolic Succession, by flinging herself singlehanded on the German hosts, she would have something to show for her splendid folly that would command even the admiration of sceptics; but, as far as one can see, the loss of Rome has not in the smallest degree deranged the machinery of the Papacy, or deprived its dicta of a particle of weight in the forum of faith. And yet France, even in the first moments of Republican enthusiasm after 1848, had no hesitation in setting up the temporal sovereignty with her bayonets, and for twenty years maintained it with "blood and iron"; and then, at the very last, there was probably no feature in the Imperial programme which met with more approval in 1869 than M. Rouher's passionate declaration that "Italy should never have Rome—never, never." It is not surprising, therefore, that seven years later a Catholic bishop should see nothing absurd or vain in asking to have Frenchmen forbidden to render public honor to the memory of one of the most famous Frenchmen, because he was one of the Church's most ferocious enemies.

Nor is it surprising that the Catholic Church, either in France or elsewhere, does not pardon or forget Voltaire. Many of the things which lead lay politicians, both Catholic and Protestant, in our time to look on him with more respect than was the fashion fifty or sixty years ago, can have but little weight with a body which claims the possession of infallible authority with regard to the unseen world. Voltaire has recovered from the discredit which for a while covered the memory of everybody who contributed conspicuously to the French Revolution, under the influence of the calm study which the state of things that preceded the Revolution has received since the peace of 1815, and the renewed ascendancy of liberal opinions. Most enlightened men for the last fifty years, whether religious or sceptic, have felt that were they face to face with ecclesiastical and political organizations such as church and state were in France in the middle of the last century, they would attack them themselves, and be thankful if they could attack them with Voltaire's ferocious wit and dauntless courage. Ridicule, too, which was Voltaire's greatest weapon, and which in his time was, as against dignified and sacred or long-established men or things, something inexpressibly shocking and monstrous, has come to be a favorite and most effective means of bringing about political and religious changes. It has made its way into every kind of controversy, and is resorted to by every kind of writer and orator. In fact, Voltaire may be called the inventor of the mode of discussion now most common in the periodical press—that is, the quick *reductio ad absurdum*, and light satire, which plants its darts as it flies. Before his time, and long after it, controversialists assailed each other by laboriously constructed approaches, the design of which, if it ever appeared at all, appeared only near the close of the fray. The letters of Junius are now very dull reading. Very few first-class newspapers would be willing to admit them to their columns, and hardly anybody in public life would fear his attacks; the preparations for them are so ponderous that nobody's attention would wait to see the blow fall. But Voltaire would make the fortune of any "great journal" in our day, and would be pestered to death by the editors of monthlies and bi-monthlies, and would prove an invaluable champion of any "cause" he took up, because he would make its enemies the laughing-stock of the civilized world.

His social and political ideal, too, if one can construct an ideal out of the things a man bates, was very much the social and political ideal which a large part of the world has now reached, and is avowedly striving after—that is, a state of things in which people are sensible, moderate, tolerant, and good-humored, neither racked by great fears nor strung by high hopes, and in which the schoolman's rule, "*de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*," is rigidly acted on. Among the comfortable classes—the French bourgeoisie, for example, whose social philosophy Voltaire has done much to frame—this ideal produces no very alarming or startling results, but the Church derives a good deal of justification for its

horror of it and of its author from its working in the lower strata of modern society. To say that Voltaire was the father of Communism would seem at first sight absurd, and yet the notion that this world is not only the best of all possible worlds but the only world, that the good things of this life are all the good things we can ever hope for, that it is the business of a wise man to get all he can out of it while he is in it and not to trouble his head about what comes after, and that religion is a cunning device of the fortunate and their friends the priests by which they get the poor to go without their rightful share, which lies at the basis of Communism, is certainly the Voltairean philosophy in clumsy hands and thick heads. It makes such headway that it is not surprising that the Church does not get over its horror of him as readily as lay reformers, many of whom fancy they would enjoy seeing his sharp and glittering axe laid to the roots of some venerable trees in our own day.

#### AMONG THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

WASHINGTON, June 3, 1878.

WASHINGTON has never justified more thoroughly its reputation as a capital of sensations and surprises than within the past forty-eight hours. Down to Saturday the prevailing impression here, not merely among Republicans but Democrats as well, was that the Electoral conspiracy investigation had failed before it had begun. The despatches in the *Herald* reflected accurately, as they usually do, the general feeling. Mr. Potter had been persuaded into taking the leadership of an investigation the results of which were known in advance. When the enquiry was first proposed, Mr. Proctor Knott, the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, had been asked to take it in hand, and had very naturally insisted before doing so on knowing what it was expected to prove. The proofs were laid before him, and he refused to have anything to do with it. Mr. Sherman had been interviewed, and he had emphatically denied writing any letters at all to anybody in Louisiana during the canvass of the returns of that State in 1876. Anderson, the principal witness for the Democrats, was a low rascal, discredited already in one investigation, in which it had been shown that he had offered his services for a consideration to both sides. Day before yesterday the Republicans were looking forward to the investigation almost with pleasure; certainly without fear. On Saturday evening, however, their feelings had undergone a sad change. Anderson had been examined, and, strange to say, notwithstanding his remarkable admissions of guilty complicity, appeared well as a witness. This is not denied by the Republicans themselves. Sherman had gone before the Committee and denied, in a qualified manner, having written the letter a copy of which was produced; and yet his denial did not carry conviction with it. The whole story of Anderson, his doubts, fears, and temptations, his relations with his "pal" Welser, his negotiations with Sherman and Stanley Matthews, his memorandum from the President to Mr. Evarts suggesting that his was a "special case," and recommending him for a consulship in "some warm climate"—all hung together, and made, to say the least, a story difficult to upset. On Saturday night the Democrats were jubilant. The "boys" manifested that migratory disposition which in times of political excitement always makes Washington a lively place, while the Republicans were correspondingly depressed and crestfallen.

But Anderson's testimony, if we are to believe the inferences drawn from it here, has not merely accomplished all this; it has produced more permanent and far-reaching results. It has carried the next House for the Democrats; it has made "fraud" the only living issue between the two parties; it has galvanized anew the vital current in the veins of the distinguished Democratic candidate, vituperated by his quondam followers as "the Mummy of Gramercy Park"; it has made Mr. Clarkson Potter next governor of New York, Mr. Tilden the nominee of the Democrats for President in 1880, and General Grant the candidate of the Republicans. Anderson may certainly congratulate himself on his success. Never before did a corrupt supervisor of elections accomplish so much in so brief a space of time.

It may be said that this political horoscope is premature; but all horoscopes in politics are; and what I shall endeavor to present to you in this letter is not the real probabilities, but the probabilities as they present themselves to our minds here. We are, you must remember, excited. We are nervous over the events with which the future is big. The mountains are in labor, and, instead of an absurd mouse, behold a terrible and corrupt conspiracy against all our liberties is what they have

given birth to. Suppose yourself a Republican (a "stalwart" Republican) politician, and ask yourself what your feelings would be. You begin by a dislike, not unmingled with something like contempt, for Mr. Hayes. He has made up a Cabinet without real party strength; he has destroyed his influence by his preposterous notions about civil-service reform; he has not nominated (until very recently, since he has been frightened into it) the men you recommended for office; he has disorganized the party without building up a new one. Finally, he has got himself into a disgraceful mess with his "visiting statesmen" and their Louisiana count, and, instead of doing anything to get himself out of it, has made exposure certain by quarrelling with the leaders of his own party who were in possession of many of the facts. In such a slough of despond as this where is help to come from? There is one quarter where it has never yet failed. There is one man who has not merely saved the Union, but the Republican party as well; there is one man who knows how to drive Democrats off, either from the "tented field" or from the "political arena," like frightened sheep. From Fort Donaldson to Appomattox Court-House it was always Democrats that General Grant was beating. When the war was over, it was General Grant who stood by Congress in its efforts to reconstruct the South. It was Grant who carried out the Congressional policy from 1868 to 1872. When the reformers held their convention in Cincinnati, and gave the Democrats their nominee in 1872, it was again Grant who swept the country for the "grand old party"; and it was Grant again who by his judicious use of troops while the count was going on, and his magnanimous return to peaceful methods after the Electoral Commission had been decided on, enabled the party to triumph as far as it did triumph in 1876. And who else is there to turn to? What is Conkling, with all his beauty and eloquence? The States he can carry in a convention can be counted on one finger of one hand. What is Blaine? He is beaten and out of the race. There are no others. It is flying in the face of Providence not to try the third term and Grant—the patient, silent man who has stood so much obloquy and abuse, and has never flinched or played the reformer.

Now look at the situation as it presents itself to the Democrats. Oaths and imprecations fill the air when Mr. Tilden's name is mentioned. It is not only Mr. Mills, of Texas, who dislikes him; half the Democratic members of Congress would hugely enjoy the spectacle of his final consignment to private life, and if you had asked any one of them on Friday of last week what his chances for 1880 were, he would have told you that they did not exist. To-day he would tell quite a different story. Anderson has changed the face of politics. Yesterday I asked a strong anti-Tilden Democrat, a prominent man in the House, what he thought of the situation. He declared that the investigation, if successful, would give his party the next House of Representatives, and make it almost impossible to nominate any one against Tilden. The origin of this belief is not difficult to trace. In 1876 the party was triumphantly carried through the campaign under Tilden's leadership, and since that it has been trying to get on without him. It must be confessed that it has failed lamentably. It has no union and no strength and no policy. Its platform in 1876 pledged it to repeal the Resumption Act, and also to bring in measures better adapted to secure resumption. It has produced since nothing but wild schemes of inflation and repudiation. It has undertaken to deal with the army question, with the tariff question, with the tax question; and thus far it has accomplished nothing. Meanwhile it has been steadily assured by its "lost leader" and his organs that there was only one path open to it—to make the frauds of 1876 its *cheval de bataille*, to drive the Republicans completely out of power by exposure of them and the shame and disgust sure to follow exposure, and finally to put the reins in the hands of the only man who knows how to guide them.

Such is the situation as it appears to Democrats and to Republicans. It may be worth while to add a few words as to the way in which it might fairly strike the members of that third party which has played such a curious rôle in politics since the close of the war. In the first place, it is probably entirely safe to assume that the "revolution" of which the newspapers have been talking for some time is indefinitely postponed. If Anderson's evidence can be corroborated, the investigation will seem to be justified, and all talk of its being a sinister attempt to upset Hayes's title will cease. As the member of Congress already quoted cynically observed to me in speaking of this: "We don't want to do anything to his title. If this evidence is true, his title is the best thing there is about him." The revolution, too, is rendered highly improbable by what may be almost called the material obstacles in the way. It is impossible for the Democrats to do anything to attack Hayes's title until they are in control of



both Houses. The Senate does not become Democratic until next March; and even if the next House is overwhelmingly Democratic, the new Congress does not meet until December, 1879, six months away from the campaign of 1880. Supposing the present state of affairs to continue, it would for those six months obviously be better for the Opposition to have Hayes in the White House than to make an absurd disturbance which would enable the Republicans to cry revolution and call in General Grant and "troops." With Hayes in office during those six months, and a Democratic Senate, the civil service, which is the most effective means of keeping a party in power, will be rendered to a great extent useless, and the Democrats, with both branches of Congress in their control, would have a far better chance at the Presidency by peaceful than by revolutionary measures. Leaving the revolution out of view, we are, therefore, confronted with the strong probability that in 1880 we shall once more see the Democrats and Republicans facing each other without any third reform party intervening to draw off votes.

#### THE LONDON EXHIBITIONS—THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

LONDON, May 11, 1878.

I BELIEVE that every year the Academy is pronounced "rather worse than usual"; but I suspect that there is little doubt that the exhibition of 1878 is decidedly weak. It is not an exhibition from which it would be agreeable to the indigenous mind to think that a Frenchman, a German, even an Italian, should derive his ultimate impression of contemporary English art. There is a great deal of vulgarity, of triviality and crudity, and of that singular "goodness," as one may say for want of a better word, with a certain dose of which the average English painter appears to have discovered it to be needful to flavor his picture in order to make it palatable to the average English purchaser. Even if the pictures were better at the Academy, there would, to a visitor from another country, be something more interesting than their technical merit: I mean the evidence they should offer as to the English mind and character—the English way of thinking and feeling about all things, art included. M. Taine has often been quoted as to the *moralizing* character of English art; not that he is the only person who has ever noticed it, but because he appears, in his very suggestive "Notes sur l'Angleterre"—a book which was, I believe, the result of a very short visit on the author's own part, but which a long stay on the part of a foreign reader only seems to render more pregnant—to have expressed it better than any one else. At all events, I never go into an exhibition of English pictures without being strongly reminded of M. Taine; I put on his spectacles; I seem to see so well what he meant. With M. Taine's spectacles you immediately see that the exhibition is only in a secondary sense *plastic*; that the plastic quality is not what English spectators look for in a picture, or what the artist has taken the precaution of putting into it. The artist must tell a story or preach a sermon; his picture must not be an image, but, in some fashion or other, a lesson; not a reproduction of form and color, but of life and experience.

The only strongly "plastic" pictures I can think of in the present Academy are the charming "Nausicaa" and "Winding the Skein" of Mr. Frederick Leighton, both representations of antique figures, of which the interest is in attitude and outline. It is impossible to be more graceful and elegant, and more keenly artistic, than Mr. Leighton; he strikes me as one of the few English painters who have had an artistic training that would be considered thorough by a high French standard. His taste and discretion are infallible, and he has a love of purity and clearness of outline which it does one good to encounter. But in Mr. Leighton's plasticism there is something vague and conciliatory; it is as if he thought that to be more plastic than that would not be quite gentlemanly. He may, however, I think, be said to be the one painter of eminence who bridges over the gulf existing between French and English art. He has an exquisite sense of form, and he has, in addition, the merit of being what I have called gentlemanly to a degree that is rare among the devotees of form on the other side of the Channel. His "Winding the Skein" (two Greek girls, on a terrace, against the sky) is quite the most strictly beautiful—indeed, I think the only very beautiful—work in the Academy.

In any exhibition in which Mr. Millais appears, Mr. Millais is always the strongest genius present; though his pictures on particular occasions may be by no means the best. But it is interesting to see how he, rich and strong in the painter's temperament as he is, shirks, as it were, and coquets with, the plastic obligation, and plays into the hands of the public desire for something more amusing or more edifying. Mr.

Millais always knows thoroughly well what he is about, and when he paints very badly he is certainly aware of it, and of just how it serves his turn; indeed, I may say that to paint so badly as Mr. Millais occasionally does a great deal of knowledge must be brought to bear. Of course, in his portraits there is less begging of the question—less of a tendency to solve the problem on side-issues—than in his "subjects"; but even in his portraits it is amusing to see the tendency crop up, as in the case of the sketch of the beautiful Mrs. Langtreys—the lady whose photographs, in every possible attitude and costume, are in all the shop-windows, and who appears to be, with the London public, in the remarkable position of a person whose beauty has become legendary—become a household word, even in her lifetime. Mrs. Langtreys's admirable beauty is quite of the antique, classical, formal, and, to return to the word I began with using, plastic order; but Mr. Millais paints her as if he meant to make her pass for the heroine of a serial in a magazine, and, to carry out the impression, calls his picture "A Jersey Lily"—the lady being a native of that fortunate island. A much better, indeed, a very fine, portrait of Mrs. Langtreys is contributed by Mr. Poynter, who has rendered admirably the serene, un-modern character of her beauty, and has given her a costume which helps her to look like some splendid human flower of the Renaissance, or of some other period at which there were no serial novels.

Mr. Millais's best thing, by far, is an admirable portrait of Lord Shaftesbury, of whom there is another excellent portrait by a young painter of solid promise, Mr. John Collier. "Painted for the Bible Society," says the catalogue; and there could not be an image more perfectly in harmony with such a label. If the great thing for a painter is to lay his hand upon a characteristic model, Mr. Millais has been most fortunate in his sitter, and he has shown himself quite worthy of his luck. It is an admirable piece of really psychological painting. Lord Shaftesbury's face is an excellent example of the British countenance as, in nine cases out of ten, this immitigable mask presents itself to foreign observation—that "biblical" countenance which has the privilege of irritating the lively perception of the Latin, the Slav, and other Bohemian races; very dry on one side, but on the other inspiring unlimited confidence. Mr. Millais has rendered with remarkable skill both the dryness and the cleanness. He has also a landscape—"St. Martin's Summer," a wild Scotch brook in a tangle of autumnal foliage—containing some admirable painting, but with a curiously motionless and photographic quality. Then he has the "Princes in the Tower," who are of course very much noticed—two charmingly pretty boys, in black velvet, with an impromptu turret staircase behind them. This is a sort of thing which Mr. Millais sometimes does admirably; of how well he is capable of doing it "The Bride of Lammermoor," now on exhibition by itself, is this year (just as the "Effie Deans" was last year) a very brilliant example. In these things the artist attempts to be subtly dramatic, to represent the finest shades of expression of the human face. The attempt is perfectly legitimate, and, as I have mentioned M. Taine, I may recall the tribute that he pays to the wonderfully delicate skill of which English painters are capable in these experiments, which he considers their strongest point. "The Princes in the Tower" is a fair specimen of this skill, but the scene from Scott's novel is a really extraordinary one; I wish I had more space to speak of it. It represents Lucy Ashton, in a forest glade, leaning on the arm of her lover after he has saved her from the aggression of the wild bull. Her face—an exquisite piece of painting—is a marvellous study of girlish agitation, and that of the sombre young Master of Ravenswood is not less remarkable. Mr. Millais is, by the way, almost always greatly to be congratulated on his models; he evidently has his "pick" of handsome people. It would be hard to find a lovelier specimen of English girlish beauty than his Lucy Ashton, or a more magnificent young man than her companion. But, as it seems to me, he makes figures of them, and nothing more; he does not make pictures, in the sense that Mr. Burne-Jones does. The figures are lighted anyhow, or not at all; they are not seen in relation to the rest of the canvas, which looks as if it were rubbed in, after the fact, in the most perfunctory manner.

In one of the rooms at the Academy there is a dense crowd of people, pressing closely together, under the rigid surveillance of a policeman, who beseeches them to "move on" in tones which resound the livelong day. Is it, then, so difficult to detach one's self from the work of Mr. Frith, after one has caught a happy glimpse of it? I can hardly answer this question on the evidence of the "Road to Ruin" (the title of his present contribution), for, thanks to the crowd and the policeman, I saw very little of it. I perceived, however, that it consists of five small pic-

tures, which form a kind of contemporary edition of Hogarth's "Rake's Progress"—the downward career beginning with a card-party at college of a young man about town. At the end, with a livid face and bloodshot eyes, he is locking the door, preparatory to an operation indicated by a suicidal-looking pistol on the centre-table. I could see also that Mr. Frith had apparently lost nothing of the peculiar ability which formerly made a policeman the indispensable adjunct of his "Derby Day" and his "Railway Station." But it would take M. Taine to speak properly, and, as it were, scientifically, of Mr. Frith. I have not pretended to speak of many of his fellow-contributors, and I can think of no other work that it is a serious wrong not to mention. M. Alma Tadema has a great piece of flesh-modelling, and one of his consummately-skillful "restorations" of Roman costume and antique interiors. Mr. Boughton, Mr. Orchardson, and Mr. Marcus Stone are very charming; Mr. Long, representing a large workshop of Egyptian girls, in the Ptolemaic time, making up little effigies of Isis and Osiris, is very brilliant; Mr. Pettie paints portraits of gentlemen in ancient doublets and tartans very bravely. Of some of the elder Academicians—Sir Francis Grant, the president, Messrs. Horsley, Cope, Hart, O'Neil, etc.—it is but common humanity not to speak. Their contributions, raggedly and cruelly squaring themselves upon the "line," must be seen to be believed in. American art (and American nature, I may add), are represented in a large view of Colorado scenery by Mr. Albert Bierstadt. The picture is unfavorably hung.

## Correspondence.

### HOMES FOR WORKING-WOMEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Young Women's Christian Association of this city maintains a Home for Working-women with *restrictions* similar to those which are given as chief causes of failure in the Stewart Hotel for Women; where they differ, the Home here is more strict. The house is closed at 10 P.M. instead of 11 P.M. No visitors are received on Sunday until evening. Visitors are received in reception-rooms, no boarder being allowed to take company to her room without special permission. Opportunity to use sewing-machines is given in the sewing-room, as at the Stewart Hotel. Members of the household are even required to have excuse from superintendent for absence from church! This Home has accommodations for a family of two hundred and twenty-five, and *advertises for additional rooms* in private families, overflowing in numbers. Few of our working-girls can pay from six to ten dollars a week for board. We grade prices to their wages; we are careful in no way to impress our work on them as a charity. They pay all that they are asked; we consider our building as an *endowment* for this class; they are in no sense objects of charity more than the students of Harvard College are such. But they have far more than is furnished in families for the same price. The building has steam radiators in every room, gas, hot water, baths in every part. The price for room alone is \$5 50 per week; for two the cost is usually about \$3 each per week. We pay expenses entirely, and have something over for repairs, improvements, etc., and have no debts even through all the hard times. No unions of numbers of men or women are more honorable in meeting all their obligations, more conservative, discreet, and reasonable.

No one familiar, practically, with this kind of "charity" will for a moment receive Judge Hilton's interpretation of the failure; but unseemly words about women are perhaps only human nature, under the circumstances. To succeed in anything, character and needs must be studied. All our prosperous homes have had small beginnings, and have grown as needs have been understood. They have seemed to be growths from their inmates' nature and wants. May the good heart and bountiful mind of Mrs. Stewart lead her to try again! He who most helped the helpless lived among them—knew them by the most intimate and comprehensive sympathy. In no other method can one begin to know the struggle and need, the worth and worthiness of working-girls.

HARRIET N. NOYES.

BOSTON, MASS.

## Notes.

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. will publish immediately Ouida's new novel, "Friendship," and "Seaforth," a new story by Florence Montgomery. —Lord Dufferin's ever-fresh "Yacht Voyage: Letters from

High Latitudes," has been published in a third edition by R. Worthington, of this city. It contains an ingenious preface for the author's American readers, a previous preface for the Canadians, and a good portrait of Lord Dufferin. —Mr. F. Leyppoldt, of the *Publishers' Weekly*, has hit upon a device of real utility, as it seems to us: a weekly Bulletin of the latest publications, in the form of a neat placard for bookstores. It is divided into three columns, of which the broadest, in the centre, shows in conspicuous type the titles of the books, with the authors' names and prices affixed: the two side-columns contain brief descriptions of the books, or literary announcements and notes. We can hardly imagine a bookseller refusing to subscribe to this Bulletin because of any doubt as to its effect in stimulating buyers. —The Ninth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health is, like its predecessors, to be recommended to all State and municipal officials responsible for the sanitary well-being of the community. Papers on scarlet-fever and other contagious diseases; on drainage and health (with special reference to the Housatonic and Hoosic basins in Massachusetts); on the sanitary condition of Cambridge; on cottage hospitals; on dangers from color-blindness; on the filtration of potable water, etc., form the chief contents, and are as usual freely illustrated with maps, plans, and cuts. New-Yorkers overcome by the vile stenches that hover over the island can learn from the preliminary general report how successfully the great Brighton abattoir has been rendered inodorous and innoxious to the neighborhood. It appears that by special vote last November five considerable cities of Massachusetts declined the authority offered them to appoint independent boards of health. Five others would not even vote on the question. —A Portland physician, favoring the use of the Latin names of drugs, writes a small book to teach the Latin, very little in amount, necessary in writing prescriptions ("Prescription Writing: Designed for the Use of Medical Students who have never studied Latin," by Dr. T. H. Gerrish. Portland, Me.: Loring, Short & Harmon. 1878). It is only a matter of a few verbs in the imperative and a few terminations, and this elementary instruction is very well presented. There are also general suggestions about prescriptions which seem to be very useful and careful. Dr. Gerrish does well to censure the common practice of having a prescription, which has been used once, repeated at another time at the patient's own risk. The prescription, of course, was given for a special state of his system, and medicine is not treated as a science if the patient does not allow the physician alone to decide whether at another time the state of his health demands the same remedy. —Next year a monument to Giordano Bruno is to be erected at Rome, and in preparation for this event Signor De Sanctis, of the Italian Ministry, has charged Professor Fiorentino with the compilation of a complete edition of the martyr-philosopher's works.

—The American Social Science Association held its Fourteenth Annual Meeting on the week before last in Cincinnati. The time was not well chosen, as the great musical festival had just closed, and the population was quite exhausted with excitement, the leading gentlemen especially looking as if they had had a fit of sickness. There was, however, a fair attendance at the sessions, and a good degree of interest manifested, with a gratifying increase in the list of members. There seems to be in the Western cities a greater disposition than in the East for the discussion of political and social problems from a general point of view, even though that discussion may be less profound. The Association has a chronic difficulty to contend with, in the impression that its work is connected with socialism, instead of dealing with the science of society. The range of the latter again is so extensive, that it seems as if no practical result could be attained, and complaint is made every year that the topics selected cover so much ground. Immediate practical effect, however, is not the object. It is to bring into personal communication men who are engaged in different professions, and who bring special knowledge to the work of social reform. That such contact does give them fresh strength and encouragement is freely acknowledged by those who attend the meetings. The publication of the papers, too, by the press and in the journals of the Association, commands an audience which individuals could otherwise hardly hope to reach; and besides these essays, which can be read at a distance, the debates, which reach only those present, are often of considerable interest and value. Even if nine out of ten of the papers fall without visible effect, they are a record of contemporary thought upon the subject, and a single instance of practical success is a justification of the work. Thus a discussion upon homes for the people, continued through several years, has spread abroad a knowledge of the principles of the Philadelphia building associations. It led to the introduction of a



bill in the Massachusetts Legislature which, though strongly opposed by the savings-banks, after three years, and mainly through the efforts of Mr. Josiah Quincy, became a law. During this time the bill was brought, through constant revision and correspondence with Philadelphia, as near to perfection as possible. Under it something like twenty companies are already in operation, and, though as yet an experiment, the system promises quite as well as any of the numerous attempts to ameliorate the condition of the honest working classes. The very slight degree in which Congress, as well as the State legislatures, responds to any expression of public opinion, points to the importance of having some agency for concentrating and giving voice to that opinion, but at the same time explains the want of practical success which has attended the efforts of the Association, in common with many others, towards reform. It is the desire of maintaining a basis of principle, outside of party struggles, which has sustained the managers in contending with many difficulties, of which the financial is the most important.

—We have room for only the briefest summary of the proceedings at Cincinnati. The opening address, on May 18, was by Prof. Benjamin Peirce, of Cambridge, one of the founders of the Association, who ably set forth the Importance of Social Science in the United States. General John Pope's paper on the Indian Question consisted mainly of an historical review. His suggestions for amendment were perhaps somewhat vague, but it may be said that the most definite and well-considered would have little better chance of attention. On Tuesday, the 21st, three papers were read having reference to the silver question. Mr. Wm. S. Groesbeck declared the policy of remonetization to be an accepted fact, and that an international convention would doubtless before long restore the injured metal to full standing throughout the world. He was followed by Mr. S. Dana Horton, the well-known advocate of bi-metallism, who thought the United States should have used their position to enforce, and made their action dependent upon, the general adoption of silver, and expressed doubts about an international convention. Mr. Horace White, in a very clear and concise paper upon resumption, declared that silver is not yet remonetized at all, explained why the dollar has not fallen in relation to gold, and was decidedly skeptical as to the meeting of a convention. Mr. Gamaliel Bradford read on Wednesday his usual plea for the admission of Cabinet officers to Congress, and this time found an ally in the person of Mr. Perry Belmont, who read a paper on the same subject. His position as the son of Mr. August Belmont, of this city, gives him a great advantage, and his subject affords an abundant field for work to a young aspirant for political success. No less than three papers were read on local and State taxation, and all of them, as well as that on the elective franchise, by Prof. Kent, of Michigan, showed a leaning towards restriction of the suffrage. It is curious to note how from all parts of the country comes up the same cry as to difficulties in municipal administration. Practical suggestions for reform, however, do not appear as yet to be equally plentiful. A paper on American coinage and currency, by Gen. Durbin Ward, of Ohio, took strong ground upon the necessity of convertibility, and advocated the English system of the separation of banking and currency, which many of the first English economists believe to be peculiarly suited for the adjustment of our paper issues. A debate in the jurisprudence department on an elective judiciary, while it produced several advocates of that system on the ground of successful practice, found hardly one to defend its theoretical merits.

—The French *opéra bouffe* company which has been singing at the Park Theatre are now giving a supplementary week at Booth's, where they are to perform several times the new *opéra comique*, the "Cloches de Corneville" (the "Chimes of Normandy"). It was suggested some years ago, in we forget which optimistic newspaper, at the time when Offenbachian opera was all the rage, that the fancy for *bouffe* was not altogether as lamentable as it seemed to purists, inasmuch as it might prove the germ of comic opera of the sort which reigned before Offenbach was. We never could see precisely how this was to be, as the *bouffe* school is hardly of a sort to pave the way to anything higher. But it now looks as if the prediction was likely to work itself out in another way. *Bouffe* opera appears to have exhausted itself, and the public taste has fallen back on the comic school, not because it was prepared for the change by Offenbach and his allies, but because their school has stretched the sense of humor and fondness for extravaganzas till its elasticity is gone, and out of sheer lassitude it falls back on something better. Good music, combined with a pretty story, is a relief after the burlesque music and inverted moral and social world of the "Grande Duchesse" and the "Belle Hclène"; and, besides this, a comic opera is one to which, as the matter

has been very well put for this latitude, a girl "may take her mother." The "Cloches de Corneville" and the "Dragons de Villars," notwithstanding one or two somewhat questionable songs and situations, are operas to which anybody may go. Indeed there is such a thing as being over-prudish in opera. There is less real harm in either of those than in "Traviata," which has possessed a moral passport for a generation. The music of both is very pretty, and the acting of Aimée in the second is, for any one who has only seen her in *bouffe* characters, quite a revelation. Her part in the "Dragons de Villars" is a poetical part. She is a simple peasant girl, keeping watch in the fastnesses of the mountains over a company of proscribed persons, of whom Villars' dragoons are in pursuit. At the critical moment she rescues and gets them across the border, but the device by which she accomplishes this feat is so clever a ruse that it deceives not only the dragoons but her friends as well, including her lover; and the result is that she is suspected by him of having betrayed the very persons she has saved. This misunderstanding occurs on the day fixed for her marriage, and before the escape of the fugitive leaves her at liberty to exculpate herself. Her acting of this not easy part was a marvel of delicacy and refinement, and to those who have only seen her hitherto in operas like the "Cent Vierges" or "Bartle Blue," it could not but suggest the possibility of her even yet taking to something more like legitimate drama than anything she has attempted. Her voice is, of course, not powerful enough for classic opera, but her acting is good enough for anything.

—Her company also contains another member who is altogether above the parts for which he is usually cast. M. Mezières, formerly with the French troupe that acted at the Lyceum Theatre, is an admirable comic actor, and why he should be engaged in playing *Calebas* and other rôles of that sort we cannot imagine. In the "Cloches de Corneville" he plays the part of a treacherous steward who has betrayed his trust and turned miser with his ill-gotten gains. He is surprised in counting over his hoard, in the ruined castle where he has stored it, by the legendary chimes of Corneville, which announce the return of its master, who, in fact, makes his appearance, with his followers, as the bells begin to ring. Mezières' acting of the mingled terror produced by his guilty conscience, and his passionate avarice contending with it, was unusually powerful, and the delight with which it was received by crowded audiences showed that the taste for good acting is by no means extinct. If some of our own theatres would only take a lesson from this company, representing the lowest form of comic art known to the stage, no harm would be done. We venture to say that in the short month during which Aimée has played here, and during which she has played mostly in parts compounded of buffoonery and burlesque, there has been more good acting at the Park than at all our theatres put together. Almost every one of the troupe is good in some particular way, and none of them acts the smallest parts without showing a definite conception of the character to be represented. It is not an elevated *repertoire* in which Aimée appears; but of its kind it is so much better than anything we have of our own that we are tempted to repudiate morality itself, and, if it is to be attained at the expense of the peculiar æsthetic pleasures for which we go to the theatre, beg for a little more good acting and music instead.

—Six years ago a German physician, Dr. Liebreich, brought consternation into London art circles by some pathological criticisms of Turner's later works. He endeavored with lens and screen to demonstrate that certain (assumed) peculiarities in Turner's pictures after 1831 were explainable on the theory of astigmatism in the painter's eyes. This exposure has had no appreciable effect on the market for Turners, and the cool reception which artists gave to Dr. Liebreich and his apparatus has, perhaps, deterred other scientists from revealing their secret thoughts in the picture galleries. Since then, to be sure, M. Marey's beautiful demonstrations of animal locomotion have been cited in criticism of Miss Elizabeth Thompson's "Roll-Call," with the result of confirming in the main the accuracy of her drawing of a horse in motion. But Mr. J. Norman Lockyer really takes up the parable of Dr. Liebreich, and confesses that he has for years been criticising the pictures in the Academy "with the most intense pleasure from the scientific point of view," but he only now ventures to free his mind publicly about them on a pretext furnished by Lord Beaconsfield. In *Nature* for May 9 he begins to pass in review the landscapes in this year's Academy, limiting himself to the sky-color as the best mode of indicating what, in his belief, "will be the influence of the study of optics in the future on art." Here it may be remarked, parenthetically, that he might have supplemented directly Dr. Liebreich's criticism of Turner, who, with all his acknowledged mastery

of atmospheric effects, was not particular whether they accorded with the time of day indicated by his favorite luminary; who would even put the rainbow at right angles with the sunbeam, a liberty at least as great as that which Mr. Lockyer ridicules in "an eminent artist now living who had painted a rainbow practically inside out," and charged £20 for restoring it to suit the dissatisfied purchaser.

—Mr. Lockyer first enumerates fifteen landscapes in which cloud and sky-color are correct, one of these being Mr. Albert Bierstadt's "Estes Park, Colorado":—"Very fine atmospheric study. The vapor rolling down the valley leaves its effect on the picture marvellously." Then follow fourteen examples judged inaccurate in color. In the first series the epithet "perfect" is frequently bestowed; in the second, "impossible" is the commonest. In neither series, however, does the criticism obviously proceed from a scientist, or derive peculiar authority from the fact that the critic is one of the foremost workers in spectrum analysis. Any good observer of nature might hold this language: "Notice the effect of the atmosphere laden with aqueous vapor on the color of the hill in the background"; "A red sunset, nearly perfect in color from top to bottom; if the yellow had faded into green it would have been better"; "The softness and color of the [pea-soup shadows] suggest that Mr. Riviere has never studied moonlight"; "Impossible color of water under sky conditions given"; "Sky colors impossible with so high a sun," etc. The astronomer, however, breaks out occasionally in side remarks like these: "Moon nearly right, which is wonderful. (This by the way)"; "Perfect sunset (poor moon!) (again by the way)"; the truth being that artists treat the moon as recklessly as do novelists. And in his second paper (May 16) Mr. Lockyer shows with diagrams how the moon and sun are misrepresented not only relatively to each other, but with reference to the scale of the picture. In spite of their enlarged appearance near the horizon, "both sun and moon steadily subtend an angle of half a degree," and this furnishes a measure of the salient features of a painted landscape. An American astronomer applying it to the pictures exhibited in 1876 and 1877 has found the average height of our mountains to be 43½ miles. One mountain "reached the respectable elevation of 105 miles." "There was only one artist who had got a hill into his picture less than 13 miles high; but he only succeeded in doing this once." Mr. Lockyer is still writing on the general subject, and deserves to be read by everybody.

—The world of wonders opened up by the telephone and the phonograph is already vastly enlarged by a third discovery called the microphone. Professor Hughes, of Kentucky, the inventor of the type-printing telegraph, now residing in England, has added this fresh laurel to the American genius. It is difficult to give an intelligible description of his instrument, but what he does is to place in the circuit of an electric battery a substance in a fine state of subdivision (as mercury in the pores of carbon), which he calls the transmitter. This substance is found to be extraordinarily sensitive to sounds which to the ear are almost or quite inaudible; and when connection is made with a telephone, these sounds may be heard with great distinctness a hundred miles away. In some recent experiments made in the presence of Professor Huxley, and reported in *Nature* for May 16, "the delicate rubbing of a fine camel's-hair pencil over a smooth wooden surface, . . . although of course inaudible in the ordinary way, was rendered evident in the telephone by a crackling noise, of which the intensity was almost painful to the ear." In like manner the footsteps of a fly have been betrayed to the sense. Further account of the microphone cannot be given here. The *Scientific American* for June 8 shows how closely parallel Professor Hughes's experiments are with those of Mr. Edison when on the track of the carbon device in his peculiar telephone.

—The British Royal Commission on Copyright has at last made its report, a brief summary of which has been telegraphed to this country. From this it appears that England, tired of being less liberal than the United States, proposes to become as liberal as France. The important points of the report for us are the fixing of the duration of copyright for the life of the author and thirty years thereafter; the reservation to the novelist of the exclusive right to dramatize his own work; the putting of works of art and of dramatic and musical compositions on the same footing as books, and the according to all foreigners publishing books in British dominions the same rights as British subjects. The report, which was unanimous, suggests that some "arrangement might be made with the United States in regard to the printing of copyright works"—a rather ambiguous phrase, which we can better understand when we have the full text before us; it further discountenances any retaliation upon American books in case the United States fail to respond to British

advances. It will be seen that the report is in every way satisfactory. If its recommendations are embodied in a bill and become law, England, besides benefiting her own literature, will have taken the first and most important step toward international copyright.

—In the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* we find a comparison of the various half-years as regards attendance at the new Strassburg University. The number of matriculated students has been as follows, the double numbers indicating the winter half-year: 1872, 212; 1872-3, 390; 1873, 467; 1873-4, 564; 1874, 621; 1874-5, 674; 1875, 649; 1875-6, 649; 1876, 674; 1876-7, 707; 1877, 626; 1877-8, 627. These figures would perhaps seem to indicate that the gloomy predictions made a couple of years ago by one of the *Nation's* foreign correspondents as to the prospects of the Strassburg University were not unfounded. There is, however, another explanation which seems very plausible. During the five years of growth and prosperity students were attracted not only by the great excellence of the professors, but by the interest attaching to the recently-recovered German territory, so that for a time Strassburg drew more largely, perhaps, than any German university from the more remote portions of Germany, and the local supply of students was disproportionately small. It is very probable that this disproportion has now begun to adjust itself, and that the more recent lower figures indicate not a wasting away, but an approach to a permanent number, after what was really only an apparent prosperity—a sort of university fever. There seems to be an impression that German students run about a great deal from one university to another, and that the universities themselves are in no sense local. It is true that the German system permits a change of universities, that such a change is much commended, and that many make it for at least one semester—some for more; yet the universities are really much more local than is generally imagined. Not only do the universities of North Germany draw from the north and those of South Germany from the south, but each university draws very largely from the little country or province just about it. A few figures will make this plain. For convenience we shall call Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria "South Germany."

—Berlin, for example, in 1872, and again in the summer of 1874 and the winter of 1874-5, drew from 52 to 58 per cent. of its matriculated German students from its own more immediate neighborhood, and less than 1½ per cent. from South Germany. The catalogues of Leipzig for the winters of 1872-3, 1874-5, and 1877-8 show that the most cosmopolitan German university draws from 45 to 52 per cent. of its German students from the immediately-adjointing countries or provinces (38 per cent. from the little kingdom of Saxony), and only 4 per cent. from South Germany, even with Bavaria so near. The University at Göttingen drew in 1874-5 and 1877-8 from 65 to 73 per cent. from the province of Hanover and the adjoining districts, only about 1 per cent. coming from the South. During the same period the Bonn University drew from 82 to 95 per cent. from its own neighborhood, and less than 1 per cent. from the South German States. We have no catalogues of the other, smaller universities at hand, but there is every reason to suppose that they would demonstrate this local character even more strikingly. A brief comparison of these figures with similar ones for Strassburg, in the summer of 1874 and in the next winter, semesters of growth, will make the above explanation clear. At this time only 37 to 40 per cent. of the German students matriculated at Strassburg came from those parts of Germany which can fairly be termed its feeders, and 60 per cent. came from Prussia and other states of North Germany—a disproportion that can hardly remain permanent. It is reasonable to expect that the number of Prussians grows less in proportion, but it is to be borne in mind that the presence of numerous Prussian officials in Strassburg, and the fact that the university catalogues usually give the students' birthplace, would render a fair comparison of figures more difficult.

—Dr. G. M. Thomas, whose studies in Venetian history we have recently noticed, calls attention in a recent number of Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift* to a proposition of the Venetian Academy of History, the *Deputazione sopra gli studi di storia patria*, to publish the Diary of Marino Sanudo. He shows at considerable length the historical importance of this enterprise. The diary consists of fifty-eight folio volumes, extending from 1496 to September, 1533, with daily entries touching events in all parts of the world, and of the highest authenticity—inasmuch as Sanudo was a man of wide experience and sound judgment, possessing the entire confidence of the government of his city,



which allowed him to make full use of even the most secret documents, and everybody knows the sagacity of this government, and the accuracy of the information it received from its diplomatic corps. The historian Ranke made large use of this Diary, and Dr. Thomas himself possesses a copy of everything which it contains upon the Reformation in Germany, which he hopes at some time to publish separately. Meanwhile, the *Deputazione* will begin with the first twelve volumes, in the hope that there will be encouragement for the publication of the whole. It is a work which ought to be secured by the leading American libraries.

#### LAVELEYE'S PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.\*

M. DE LAVELEYE'S 'Primitive Property' consists of some papers published by him in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* several years ago (1872), with considerable additions. The present English translation is very materially enlarged and altered from the original French edition, being, in fact, "in the form in which it is about to appear in the new French edition." To persons interested in the line of investigations to which Sir Henry Maine introduced the English public in his 'Village Communities,' the present volume will be very acceptable. While not by any means superseding Sir Henry Maine's work, it contains, probably, much the most complete account that there is of the various forms of collective property in land existing in different parts of the world; partly supplementing the works of other writers, and partly presenting the substance of their several contributions side by side, so as to show their relations to one another. It is to be regretted, however, that the new and the old materials were not more thoroughly digested and worked over into a completer unity. The old chapters—which are in every respect admirable—are left in the main as they were originally, and the new material added in the form of new chapters. This is all very well for a considerable part of it, but there is much of the new matter which might better have been incorporated in the old chapters. There is, therefore, a great deal of repetition, and the effect of much of the book is of disconnected essays brought between the same covers, rather than of a systematic treatise. Chapter xxi., for example, "The Mark in Holland," would properly follow chapter vii., "The Germanic Mark."

While, therefore, the material is abundant, and the several chapters are, in most cases, all that could be desired, the book as a whole—as a treatise upon the history of collective property in land—is disappointing. Perhaps this is in the plan of the work. Perhaps it was not the author's purpose to trace out the historical evolution of the institution, but simply to describe the several phases it has taken in different times and countries. We hardly think this to be the case, however, inasmuch as the single topics are generally treated historically, and such titles of chapters as "Origin of Inequality in Landed Property" and "History of Landed Property in England and China" show that the historical aspect of the question was distinctly present in the author's mind. We are inclined to think, therefore, that the economic aspect, the consideration of the practical questions involved, pressed itself upon his mind so earnestly as to cast the historical view wholly in the shade. For this book is not merely a scientific treatise, like Sir Henry Maine's, but is a *Tendenzschrift*—a book with a purpose. It is conceived in the spirit expressed by Mr. Mill, in his review of 'Village Communities' (Dissertations, v. p. 156), where he suggested the right on the part of society to reconvert "individual property into some new and better form of collective." M. de Laveleye is an ardent admirer of the Russian *Mir* and the Swiss *Allmend*, and believes that a fatal mistake was made by the modern world in borrowing from the Roman law the idea of "quiritarian ownership" in land—an idea wholly alien to the Germanic peoples and the source of great demoralization of society, as he maintains. His views on this subject are urged forcibly in the introduction and also in the closing chapters, and they well deserve study. The American people have lavished their public lands upon speculators and corporations in full property; in view of the rapid growth of crude communism among us it deserves consideration whether some measure of "social reform" in disposing of the public lands yet remaining may not meet this spirit halfway and forestall violent changes by rational concessions.

Turning to the detail of the work, it must be admitted that M. de Laveleye is rather economist than historian, and does not treat historical

questions with the firm and accurate touch of Sir Henry Maine. A notable example of this is found in chapter xiii., "Family Communities succeeded to Village Communities." The treatment of family communities as a distinct form of collective property apart from village communities is a somewhat new thing, and marks an important step in the analysis of these institutions; and the chapters treating of this subject are very valuable ones, especially the interesting details in regard to France in chapter xv. But, in the first place, they are foisted in, without any clear continuity, between the chapters upon the ancient world and those that treat of the development of inequality in property; and, in the next place, the very title of chapter xiii. indicates a fundamental error. It cannot yet be maintained positively that village communities (as in Russia) and family communities (as in the Danubian Provinces) formed two successive stages of development in the same people, rather than two independent phases in different peoples; but if it is to be assumed that they were successive, it is almost certain that the order of succession was just the opposite to that here indicated. Surely the village is an organization further removed from the primitive type than the joint-family or family (or house) community; and this is the view also of Sir Henry Maine, who says, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* (December, 1877, p. 809), that there is "little doubt that the natural development of the house community would be into the village community." M. de Laveleye supports his own view by an interesting remark (p. 198) in illustration of the process of development here assumed: "As the family community was the unit for the periodical partition, it naturally followed, when this partition fell into disuse, that the communities were owners of the soil, and they continued to exist in obscurity, resisting all destruction, until they attracted the attention of the jurists, about the end of the Middle Ages." This suggestion is very instructive in regard to the course of events in France, where house communities were a common institution, but village communities can hardly be proved to have existed at all. Still, it does not necessarily follow that this "periodical partition" was by the *village*, nor is this view supported by what is known of the Slavic house communities. Thus Mr. Evans, in his 'Bosnia and Herzegovina,' says of the allotments of land in the military frontier: "The single families of those backwoodsmen could not grow into villages all at once, and so it would happen that the mark—as we may call the allotment—reverted to a very primitive stage, being held in common, not so much by a village-community as by a single household" (p. 46). And the passage in Caesar cited in support of the view in question—*gentibus cognationibusque hominum attribuunt* (vi. 22)—is far more likely to refer to public magistrates than to village officers; the passage merely proves—what is universally assumed—that the German village communities rested, in their origin, upon kinship.

A few other rather unaccountable errors have slipped in. On page 119 it is stated that "the word *gau* had nearly the same import as *mark*." It is very true the word *gau* (district) may be used for *mark*, but the reverse is not the case; and as used here in connection with the *Gau-graf*, the *Gau*, a public district, was a totally different thing from the agricultural *Mark*. On page 134 *bokland* is defined as "land inrolled in the book"! On page 234 we have the *cow Apis*. This is probably a mistake of the translator, as also where, in the note on page 132, Mr. Morgan's valuable treatise in the Smithsonian Contributions is cited as "Morgan Smith's Contributions, etc." The economic constitution of the manor is curiously confused on page 247; after speaking of its division into demesne and tenement lands, the author goes on to enumerate the tenants on the demesne (*de dominico*) as consisting of, first, the *villani*, then the free tenants, then the *cotarii*, with no mention at all of tenants on the tenement lands, although there are said to have been tenants on the waste. On page 219 we read: "Among the Anglo-Saxons they [females] ultimately obtained a portion of the *Bokland*, but no *Folkland*." But *Bokland* and *Folkland* do not exhaust the categories of Anglo-Saxon land; as to the question under consideration the *family land* or *Ethel* was the most important class. Of course women held land by *bok* or deed, as well as men; of course they were not likely to hold tracts of *Folkland*, which were granted something after the manner of benefices to the king's followers; but for family land—the *hyde* in the village community—there is no question that the old Kentish law of gavelkind prevailed, females succeeding, but only after males. Very surprisingly, too, we have Trimalechio's estate in Petronius cited (p. 172), as if it were not a burlesque, to show the extent and value of an Italian *latifundium*—thirty boys and forty girls born in one day on one estate at Cuma, and 500,000 bushels of corn taken up from the threshing-floor!

M. de Laveleye has collected in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chap-

\* 'Primitive Property.' Translated from the French of Emile de Laveleye, Member of the Royal Academies of Belgium, Madrid, and Lisbon, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, of the Institute of Geneva, of the Academy *dei Lincei*, of Rome, etc. By G. R. L. Marriott, B.A., LL.B. With an Introduction by T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. 356.

ters a considerable number of facts bearing upon the question of collective property in Greece and Rome. We wish he had pursued this interesting but difficult enquiry further, as it as yet is far from having been exhaustively investigated. So with the fruitful question of the landed institutions of the Hebrews, which he only touches upon incidentally.

#### UPTON'S ARMIES OF ASIA AND EUROPE.\*

IN July, 1875, Brevet Major-General Emory Upton, Lieutenant-Colonel Fourth Artillery, United States Army, was ordered by the Secretary of War to proceed with two junior officers on a tour of eighteen months to India, China, and Japan, and the camps of instruction and military schools of Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia, France, and England, in order to examine and report upon the organization, tactics, discipline, and manœuvres of the armies in the countries mentioned. Additional instructions from the General of the Army direct special attention to "Afghanistan, Persia, Khokand, Bokara, Toorkistan, etc., the lands whence came our civilization." It was not, perhaps, possible to obey literally the latter instructions, as naught resembling our present civilization has ever been known in the lands indicated. The only interesting military information that the most sanguine could expect to procure in the whole of that region was, as to what cavalry once was before the sabre and lance had been condemned by our highest cis-Atlantic authorities as useless encumbrances. Improvements in firearms have classed even the modern bayonet with the ancient sword in harmlessness, inasmuch as in our late civil war but 1 in 279 of the wounded suffered from either sword or bayonet, and in the Franco-Prussian campaigns but 1 in 300. An inspection of the mediæval armor in the Centennial Exhibition would, therefore, have been quite as useful for antiquarian research, more expeditious, and far less expensive than the long overland Oriental jaunt from Bushire *via* Shiraz and Tiflis to the Caucasus, even when the Khyber Pass route was perforce abandoned. Accordingly, to report the result of that part of the expedition required but 8 out of the 455 pages of the volume.

Careful perusal of this work suggests the doubt whether very much was gained by the author's personal examination in the localities visited. Numerous works, official and popular, regarding the present military state of all the European governments, are accessible here, and if that is not equally true concerning Japan and China, it is of little consequence, since the Mikado's troops are simply receiving theoretical and practical instruction from a detail of French officers, and the Chinese service is pronounced utterly worthless, in only twenty pages, which, if strictly accurate, might as well have been comprised in twenty words. Since this last-mentioned report was made, however, some evidence has appeared tending to invalidate its conclusions. Last December a Chinese army invaded and reconquered Eastern Turkestan with speed and energy. As a part of the campaign it in twenty-one days marched four hundred miles, captured three cities, and won a pitched battle, co-operating in excellent style with a flanking force and exhibiting the very qualities of strategy in the commanders, and endurance and courage among the soldiers, which Gen. Upton denies to them. Making all allowance for the unscientific resistance of the rebel Ameer of Kashgar, the operations of the Celestial regulars in the distant and difficult country south of the Tian Shan have surely in some measure restored the prestige once gained by the armies of Kanghai and Keen Lung.

The merit of General Upton's work does not consist in exhibiting the results of original investigation, or in such vivid description as might have been hoped for from his actual inspection, but he presents in one well-arranged volume what before to the American reader could only be culled from numerous reports, lists, and treatises in several languages. The compilations, in their several divisions and in their summation, are accompanied by reflections and suggestions which, from the author's distinction in the studies of his profession, should and doubtless will be attentively considered. His most condensed recommendations are as follows:

- "1. The three or four-battalion system for infantry regiments.
- "2. A system of detail whereby our officers may serve alternately in the staff and in the line.
- "3. A system of personal reports, by means of which the Government may be informed of the character, capacity, and qualifications of all its officers.
- "4. Examinations previous to promotion.
- "5. Schools for enlisted men.

\* "The Armies of Asia and Europe. Embracing Official Reports on the Armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England. By Emory Upton, Brevet Major-General United States Army." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

"6. Schools and qualifications for officers preparatory to receiving commissions.

"7. Schools for officers in the art of war and the higher branches of their profession, subsequent to receiving commissions."

The second recommendation, elsewhere called "a vital and interchangeable relation between the staff and the line," is so strongly and persistently insisted upon as to demand particular attention. It is true that a staff officer requires more general, as well as special, ability, and more comprehensive training, than one in the line. He should be familiar with most of the details of line duty, as well as those of his own branch of administration; but his efficiency in the latter is not essentially improved by repeated exclusive employment on the subsidiary details after a certain and limited amount of time has once been devoted to them. If there is anything in military science worthy the name it requires differentiation as well as integration. A valuable staff officer, as an adjunct to command, should be a specialist, and cannot afford much heterogeneity. The specialization in our corps of ordnance and engineers, of the quartermaster and commissary departments, has made them admirable, some of them more efficient than in any other service among the armies of the world. It is difficult to see how a frequent recurrence of guard-mounting and company drill at scattered isolated posts would improve the officers of those branches of the staff in their special duties, while it is certain that the work of the staff would not be so well performed by a raw beginner detailed from the line; and if the latter is to remain during all his career, excepting the period of his temporary staff detail, in the cavalry, infantry, or artillery, what he may have learned during that detail will not often be utilized. While the staff should understand the limited and speedily-learned duties of the line, it is not so essential that the latter should be familiar with the more comprehensive administration or with special scientific branches. For absolute and universal official perfection it might be well that every medical officer, who must deal with malingering soldiers, should have passed through the trials and responsibilities of a company command, and also that every captain should have pursued a course of surgery; but while such an interchange would be repelled as a violent illustration, it is not much more unreasonable than that a newly-appointed captain of engineers or ordnance who had once, at West Point or as a subaltern in the line, learned and practised infantry and cavalry duties, should go straightway back to them again for several years instead of improving himself in the branch of his profession for which he had been selected; yet that is precisely what General Upton desires. That the staff should be recruited from well-qualified officers of the line is most important, and that the latter should serve in the staff on probation before appointment in it is highly desirable, but that, after decision as to fitness for permanent position and consequent selection, there should continue to be an interchange, could only be endured as part of a systematic plan of educating a large number of officers in duties of a higher character than they can fill in any existing peace establishment, with the view to its large and prompt expansion for the emergencies of war. The arguments for such a system, potential in other countries and circumstances, will not probably be favorably received here and now. An emperor, depending on his army not only for ascendancy among rivals, but for internal peace and the security of his dynasty, may ensure judicious selections and details with the minimum of favoritism. Here, however, politicians care only for the next election affecting themselves, and, to conciliate those who can assist their selfish interests, will press and prevail in all changes of duty or station once opened to executive selection by law or custom in place of the present established routine. If the status of any large proportion of our military officers shall be made fluctuating, the evils of our present civil service will be entailed upon the army by the same partisan politics that obstruct true reform everywhere. An approach to degradation of the service is already shown by the repeated action of Congress in ignoring the once-conceded life-tenure of military office, except as affected by misconduct or inefficiency, and in so crippling all professional progress by destructive changes as to reduce commissions to the level of temporary clerkships, perhaps ere long to lower the high standard of honor now proverbial to the suspicion popularly entertained against Indian agents, and explained by like low salaries and like uncertain tenure. The height of inconsistency is attained when a section to turn over the Indian Bureau to the War Department, on account of frauds in the former, is included in the same bill that, by disintegration and diminished pay, demoralizes the latter.

Members of Congress, relying on our territorial exemption from formidable neighbors, and with blissful confidence in a perpetual force latent



in republican institutions ever ready to respond with irresistible might and always for the public good, generally consider that the army should only be barely sufficient to tide over immediate troubles, whether with Indians or Mexicans, and seldom concern themselves about any national future beyond the year for which appropriations are doled out. The momentary adequacy of the service is the main consideration in Congressional debates, though some eloquent representatives protest against any regular, or, as they phrase it, "standing," army whatever; but, as they rely upon a non-existent militia, without using or suggesting any means to create such all-sufficing force, their speeches are probably calculated for communistic constituents rather than for rational men. Views of adequacy are, however, diverse. Mr. Kimmel, of Maryland, lays down the proposition that "in peace the only use for soldiers is to care for the forts. If 25,000 soldiers are necessary to care for the forts, then there are none for the field, and the Indians may depredate unchecked unless the militia be called out. If from 25,000 men troops can be spared for the field, then there are too many for the forts, and the excess ought to be discharged" (*Congressional Record*, May 22, 1878). This view seems to be tinged with the archaic idea of a fort as a mere place of defence, whereas our structures so-called, which are occupied by the cavalry and infantry whom the bill under debate chiefly concerned, are generally mere barracks in localities convenient for the effective distribution of troops where most needed for active operations. Instead of the soldiers keeping the forts, the forts keep the soldiers and their necessary stores—out of the rain and snow on desolate frontiers where, without such buildings and provision depots, life could not long be sustained.

Some few statesmen have sufficient length of vision to contemplate a "skeleton" organization, adapted to expansion when necessary, as was shown when Calhoun, in 1820, said that we ought to have an army so organized and disciplined that when a sudden emergency should come upon us it could be expanded by mere enlistment to double or quadruple its size, with nothing in the way of organization to new-model or create. This, though a long stride in the right direction, does not reach the scientific conception of an "elastic" system, combining proportion and preparation with constant adequacy, proposed by General Upton, and legislators will be surprised to learn that, instead of agreeing with them that the army is over-officered, he advocates with much force a plan in which the number of its enlisted men may be safely reduced by 2,000, while it will at the same time be necessary to increase the officers by 210. It should be noticed that the lessons taught by improved firearms have revolutionized tactics even since our civil war, and scientific ability in grades below corps commanders is more needed than of yore, while mere masses of soldiery are less employed. "In the new system, a major (of infantry) often assumes the functions of a brigade commander, a captain requires the knowledge and skill of a colonel, a lieutenant performs the duty of a captain, a sergeant takes the place of a lieutenant, and a corporal, no longer required to simply fire his musket, takes command of a squad or section." Much also is now needed from the private soldier besides his momentum and ability to pull a trigger. A part of the plan mentioned provides for what is styled "National Volunteers," partly officered and wholly instructed and disciplined by details from the regular army at regimental depots, where there would always be a nucleus of veterans to assist in the training. This suggestion to popularize and utilize the army contains much that is useful to prevent the commencement and prosecution of future wars with raw troops whose officers and men must both be taught in the costly school of actual conflict, and should be studied at length in the author's "Conclusions."

*The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin. Vol. iii. (London: Smith, Elder & Co.; New York: D. Appleton & Co.)—Mr. Theodore Martin had expected to terminate with the present volume the elaborate and painstaking work of whose two previous instalments some account was duly given in these columns. But with the third volume he had entered into a phase of his subject which at the present moment—from a court-biographer's point of view, at least—there were various cogent reasons for not passing over rapidly; the consequence of which has been that it will take another five hundred pages to exhaust the materials with which he has found himself so liberally supplied. This third volume of the 'Life of the Prince Consort' has had the privilege, in England, of provoking a good deal of discussion. Its appearance has, on the one side, been cordially welcomed by the numerous and boisterous advocates of an anti-Russian crusade; and, on the other, it has been denounced as a "party pamphlet," and an unbecoming contribution by the sovereign to a discussion into which

the sovereign is not supposed to throw her weight. And, indeed, no small part of the interest of this third volume is that it emanates directly and avowedly from the Queen. So much, practically, Mr. Theodore Martin affirms in the prefatory letter to her Majesty, where he also declares, in a very ingenuous passage, that the subject of his biography was without a single one of those human failings—Mr. Martin had searched for them in vain—which would serve to give the portrait conveyed in the pages "the relief of shadow," and that degree of verisimilitude required by people acquainted only with their more or less defective fellow-mortals. The book is a royal manifesto—a declaration of personal feeling upon the matters at issue between Russia and Turkey. Finding the Crimean war in his path, the biographer was enabled, thanks to the analogy between the situation of England in 1854 and her position to-day, to plead a cause while he seemed to be writing a history.

It must be added that Mr. Theodore Martin pleads his cause very creditably, and tells this part of his story with the well-ordered abundance and the fulness of illustration which has marked its progress hitherto. He has had to consult an immense number of documents—the Prince's correspondence alone was most copious, and a large portion of it has had to be translated from the German—and he has suffered from that *embarras de richesses* which is the affliction of the contemporary historian, and which he would doubtless often willingly exchange for the hardly more serious obstruction of evidence reduced to conjecture. The trouble with Mr. Theodore Martin's book continues to be the same that we formerly noticed—the fact, namely, that the Prince Consort, in spite of his amiable character and cultivated intelligence, had no personal history that was particularly worth relating; and that to make up his book the author is obliged to place before us the various events of Queen Victoria's reign, at which her royal spouse assisted merely as witness. It is true that in the present case—at the time of the Crimean war—the Prince Consort was a witness so vigilant and sympathetic, with so much to say about everything that happened, that, more than elsewhere, he appears to come into direct relation with events. He was an eager advocate of the league against Russia, and a vehement partisan of the policy vulgarly known as "bolstering up" Turkey. On this latter point, indeed, he has in his letters a warmth of tone which contrasts strikingly, and in a certain sense even favorably, with his usual somewhat too judicial frigidity. Mr. Martin's volume offers a detailed sketch of the Crimean War in so far as it was conducted in England, where the Prince might have been numbered among the active combatants. The Prince abounds in views upon the manner in which it should be carried on—in suggestions, theories, Memoranda. Whatever occurs, he usually writes a Memorandum on the subject, which is laid before a committee and duly considered. Some of his ideas were evidently excellent, and they were all carefully elaborated. When the break-down of the English military arrangements in the Crimea became complete he drew up a plan for the entire reorganization of the army, and his biographer is able to offer distinguished military testimony to the fact "that it has been the aim of military reformers since to embody all its suggestions, and that all have been put into practice."

Of the vicissitudes, blunders, depressions of the Crimean War, as they were felt and resented in England, Mr. Martin's chapters present a vivid and interesting record. The sense of mismanagement and incompetency at last, in the country, reached the point of exasperation, and the Prince, who had already known what it was to be used as a scapegoat, was called upon again to shoulder some hard responsibilities. He was accused of being the source of the errors and delays at the seat of war; but Mr. Martin is able to show that the accusation was most unjust. The Prince's attitude here, as before, was excellent, and he easily out-weathered the storm. He was of the war-party to the last. Late in the spring of 1855 he produces a Memorandum with regard to a "general European defensive league for Turkey against Russia." "Can such a coalition be obtained?" he asks; "I think it can"—although his disgust and resentment at the manner in which Prussia had held off from the Allies had hitherto been extreme and constant. Many of these pages are devoted to the personal relations established between the Queen and Prince and the Emperor of the French, apropos of the Alliance; and we may frankly declare that they are not the most agreeable in the volume. The Queen has published a great many of the entries in her own diaries descriptive of the visit of the French Imperial couple to England, and of her own and the Prince's visit to France in the summer of 1855. If many of those expressions of feeling to which she has here given her sanction are indiscreet, this record of the remarkable exuberance with which she condones the irregularities of the successful adventurer, whose eager wish was to borrow respectability from her approval, is not the

least so. Indeed it makes, with the rest of Mr. Martin's volume, a sufficiently odd and incongruous mixture. Her Majesty would seem to have taken the Emperor of Russia a little too hard and the Emperor of the French too easily. These things make Mr. Martin's third volume extremely noticeable. It has been construed as the germ of a new and unexpected attempt on the part of the Crown to exert an old-fashioned pressure upon the Government; and while it pleads on the one hand for a policy whose accordance with the honor of England is greatly questioned, it recalls on the other an episode which cannot be viewed with complacency.

*U. S. Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel.* Vol. II. Descriptive Geology. By Arnold Hague and S. F. Emmons. XXVI. Plates. (Washington. 1877.)—The present volume, with that of Mr. Clarence King on Systematic Geology, which is expected shortly, comprise the final geological results of this important exploration, the most extensive ever undertaken by this country, or we might say by any country, in the interest of geology, covering as it did a belt of country more than 100 miles wide, and extending from the 105th to the 120th meridian, or from the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains to the California boundary, and thus affording a complete geological section of one of the greatest mountain systems of the world. It is the joint production of Messrs. Hague and Emmons, and gives a detailed description in geographical order of the whole region explored, its physical characteristics, the different rocks and minerals and their manner of occurrence, the structure of the mountains and their peculiar forms of upheaval. It is divided into five general chapters to correspond with the five large geological atlas sheets which have just made their appearance. Their titles are: I. Rocky Mountains. II. Green River Basin. III. Utah Basin. IV. Nevada Plateau. V. Nevada Basin. The first embraces the northern portion of the Colorado range, which may be regarded as typical of the whole front range of the Rocky Mountains proper, or the eastern portion of the Cordilleran system; the Great Plains which lie east of the mountains; the Laramie Plains, and the great, enclosed mountain valley of the North Park. A large portion of this chapter is devoted to a description of the Archaean,

geologically the earliest rocks, which form the core of the Rocky Mountains, and prove the existence of a western continent of America contemporaneous with the Laurentian continent of Northern New York and Canada. The second chapter describes the interesting Tertiary deposits of Wyoming, from which have been obtained enormous collections of the remains of extinct animals, said by Huxley in his recent visit to this country to be the most important contributions to this branch of science made since the collections of Cuvier in the famous Tertiary basin of Paris. It also describes the remarkable east and west range of the Uinta Mountains, allied both physically and geologically to that of the Caucasus, as described by the German geologist, Abich; and the great cañons which the Green River has cut to a depth of 3,000 feet through its very heart, typical of the well-known cañons of the Colorado River, as this same stream is called on its further progress southward. In the third chapter are described: 1. The Wahsatch range, the great central elevation in this latitude of the Cordilleran system, which also dates back to Archæan times, and presents a remarkably complete series of the various geological formations down to the most recent. 2. The Great Salt Lake and its former bed, the Great Desert which stretches to the west of it, forming a vast enclosed basin with no drainage to the sea, which the beach-lines along the bounding mountain slopes and other evidences prove to have been once occupied by an immense fresh-water sea. The two remaining chapters, which describe the narrow north and south ranges of Nevada, its desert valleys, abundant hot springs and saline deposits, are interesting to the geologist as involving the description of a most remarkable variety of volcanic and other eruptive rocks, and proving this portion of the continent to have been in former geological ages the scene of the most violent terrestrial convulsions.

The volume is accompanied by a copious classified index which adds greatly to its value as a book of reference. The illustrations are lithographic copies of photographs taken by the photographer of the exploration, and, though not equally distributed, present a graphic picture of the most interesting geological peculiarities of some portions of the region explored. The Atlas is a magnificent specimen of topographical and geological cartography.

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